

The University of Chicago

THE
RECONSTRUCTION OF AN ENGLISH
CARMELITE MISSAL

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ART

1938

By
MARGARET RICKERT

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AN ENGLISH CARMELITE MISSAL

By MARGARET RICKERT

THE destruction of priceless illuminated manuscripts by fire, water, or other natural causes is sad enough to contemplate, most of all, perhaps, when it happens, as in the case of the Douai Psalter¹ and the Turin Hours,² even within modern memory. But for the lover of fine manuscripts, regret for what is irrecoverably lost as in such cases turns into active indignation when he sees the remains of a magnificent manuscript deliberately and senselessly mutilated. Sometimes it is the skeleton of the text pages that survives, with holes where the decoration has been cut out and gaps in the text on the reverse of the leaf; sometimes it is a single full page, text and decoration, framed and displayed in a bookseller's window; and sometimes it is a prettily bound scrapbook containing painted initials and fragments of decoration, or exquisite miniatures on gold grounds, that finds its way from some private owner's collection into a public sale and thence, perhaps, into a library or museum.

Two such scrapbooks — thick, folio volumes of 172 pages each, gilt-edged and bound with morocco — were bought by the British Museum in 1874 and numbered *Additional Mss* 29704 and 29705. One of these volumes (29704) contained on the first thirty-eight pages fifty-one historiated initials of sizes varying from approximately two to more than four inches square, exquisitely painted with the finest pigments on a brilliantly burnished and stippled gold ground.³ The remaining pages of this volume and the whole of the companion book (29705) contained decorative initial letters of all sizes from over four inches to less than half an inch square, in gold and colored pigments, or drawn with colored inks. In addition to these, there were many pieces of border decoration, line-fillings, and a very few fragments of beautifully written text, all mounted with great precision and neatness on pale pink paper.

Only one item of evidence as to the provenance of the scrapbooks accompanied them: on the flyleaf of the one containing the miniatures (29704) was written in pencil the following inscription: 'Bought at the sale of Mr Hanrott's books who had cut out and arranged the initials himself. W. Tite.'⁴ In the lower right-hand corner of the back cover of each of the volumes is still to be found a small book plate with Sir William Tite's name, further attesting his ownership.

The Tite sales took place between May 18 and June 6, 1874. In the Sales Catalogue (Lot 1561) the scrapbooks are described as follows:

¹ Douai, Pub. Libr., *Ms.* 171. Buried during the late war to preserve it from damage and when dug up found to be ruined by damp.

² The famous *Heures de Turin*, partly attributed to the Van Eycks, burned in the fire which destroyed the greater part of the Turin Library in 1904.

³ Cf. description of the manuscripts in the Additional Catalogue, 1854-75.

⁴ This statement was quoted in a description of the cuttings in the Catalogue of the Ironmongers' Exhibition, London, published in 1864-67. The scrapbooks, loaned by Sir William Tite for this exhibition, attracted considerable attention both for the beauty of the miniatures and the interest of their subjects.

Illuminations. A collection of magnificent ornamentations very richly illuminated in gold and colours upon vellum, cut from Ancient Service Books, comprising 56 beautiful initial letters (each containing an exquisite miniature)¹ above 1600 very large capital letters, upwards of 400 other ornaments (consisting of borders, flourishes, etc.) and innumerable letters of gold, painted capitals and neatly mounted on tinted paper in 2 thick volumes.

The books were bought by Quaritch and soon after transferred to the British Museum for £210.

The sale of Philip Augustus Hanrott's books took place on five separate days between July 16, 1833, and March 22, 1834; the Scrapbooks appear in Part II of the catalogue (Evans, Aug. 5, 1833, Lot 1525*), described as follows: 'Illuminations upon vellum from ancient manuscripts. A very extensive collection of Miniatures, Initial Letters, and other ornaments cut from ancient manuscripts, many of them highly finished specimens splendidly bound in two volumes morocco gilt leaves.' They were sold to Williams (a dealer?) for £28.10s.

One item stated clearly in both the Hanrott and the Tite Sales Catalogues opens an interesting question about the source of the cuttings: they are described as from 'ancient manuscripts' and from 'ancient Service Books'; in other words, in both cases as from more than one original manuscript.

From the time the scrapbooks entered the British Museum, however, there seems to have been no doubt that the fragments came from a single manuscript, a missal. A close examination by officials in the Museum of the subjects of the miniatures had suggested the idea that the original missal had been a royal book, since the figure of a king contained in one of the initials (fragment numbered 83, from 29704) was believed to be recognizable as a portrait of King Richard II² (1377-99); moreover, the decoration on the cuttings was so rich as to suggest a manuscript especially suitable for a royal or noble patron.

That the fragments actually came from either a missal or a breviary seemed clear from the type of subjects represented, particularly in such pictures as the Dedication of a Church and the two scenes showing the priest at the altar (for the masses of Corpus Christi [Pl. I] and Holy Saturday respectively); fragments of text such as the mass heading accompanying the miniature of the Nativity of the Virgin (Pl. II) proved that the original manuscript was, in fact, a missal. The only evidence furnished by the subjects of the miniatures (so far as they were recognizable at first) that they had all come from the same missal was the fact that apparently no subjects were repeated among the fragments. Moreover, the style of the illumination, although displaying some marked differences both in the miniatures and in the decoration, showed a uniformity in quality and a harmony of coloring such as would be more likely to be found in one manuscript than in several different ones. The costume of the figures in all the miniatures seemed to be of about the same date: late fourteenth century. What little writing

¹ Actually there were only fifty-one historiated initials; the other five were fragments of decoration containing figures.

² So described in *British Museum, Guide to the Exhibited Manuscripts*, Part III (printed by order of the Trustees, London, 1923, p. 21, No. 33). Reproduced, Eric G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIV and XV Centuries* (Paris, 1928), Pl. 81c.

was visible on the cuttings appeared to be the same throughout, and from its large size and from the type of letters used, suggested a late fourteenth century liturgical hand such as is found, for instance, in the Sherborne Missal.¹

When all the outstanding evidence had been collected from a study of the contents of the scrapbooks, however, the conclusion as to the source of the cuttings was still merely conjectural: neither could it be proved that there had been only one original, nor could the statements in the two sales catalogues be confirmed. It was obvious that the point could not be settled without further evidence such as certainly was contained in the fragments of text to be found on the reverse of the decorations, but which, as long as these were pasted firmly down on the scrapbook pages, was inaccessible.

What was the special importance of settling this point? In any case, the lamentable fact could not be altered that the original was gone, leaving behind only this collection of scraps, beautiful and interesting enough in themselves but of no apparent value as a manuscript. Briefly, this: in the miniatures three distinct stylistic groups could be recognized, one of which was certainly English (Pl. III), another, doubtfully English (Pl. I), while the third, totally different from the other two in figure types, composition of the pictures, and coloring, though employing, in some cases, an English border design, was certainly not English but foreign (Pl. II). This last group of miniatures seemed to have much more in common with English work datable after 1400, painted in the so-called 'new style' which characterizes manuscripts of the first half of the fifteenth century, than with the English tradition of the earlier part of the fourteenth century recognized as present in the other two groups. It seemed likely, therefore, that this collection of cuttings might contain the key to the origin of this 'new style': if it could be shown conclusively that in one single manuscript (from which all these miniatures had come) English and foreign artists had actually collaborated, the mystery of the sudden appearance of this fine style in English work could be explained by the circumstances of direct influence from the foreign on the English during or immediately after the production of this manuscript.

This hypothesis as to the specific importance of the collection of miniatures in the development of English art, taken in conjunction with their long-recognized² beauty and interest, led me to the decision to undertake a more detailed study of them than had been made previously.

¹ In the library of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle. It was written by John Was, Benedictine monk, between 1397 and 1416 for Sherborne Abbey. The illuminations are by John Siferwas, a Dominican, who repeatedly painted his own picture, signed with his name, together with that of the scribe in the miniatures. Some of these miniatures show a striking similarity in coloring and in facial technique to those fragments described below as foreign in style. The Sherborne Missal, apparently slightly later than the manuscript from which the cuttings come, must, it seems, have been directly influenced by the latter.

² For over twenty-five years some of the finest of the fragments, miniatures, and decorative initials, were exhibited in frames in the Grenville Library of the British Museum, where their outstanding quality was apparent even when compared with other fine exhibited manuscripts. Moreover, in every serious discussion of late fourteenth century English illumination since their acquisition by the Museum, they have been given a prominent place, some of them usually being reproduced.

Because of the haphazard arrangement of the fragments in the scrapbooks it was extremely difficult at the outset to know how to begin this study. Even where a grouping of the initials had been attempted it was purely arbitrary, based either on similarity in kinds of fragments (as the miniatures collected on the first thirty-eight pages of *Ms 29704*, and the many pages of the smaller initials) or on the formation of series of initial letters, as in alphabets or names. However, even this slight grouping proved to be of some assistance in sorting out stylistic differences among the fragments, particularly in the miniatures, which obviously constituted the first problem for study.

In addition to the three main groups easily distinguished on grounds of style, there were a few miniatures which appeared to be less skilled versions of two of these styles, presumably the work of assistants or apprentices, making five groups or 'hands' in all. The decorative initials, though clearly comprising more than one style, were much harder to group because of their great number and because of their distribution over the more than 300 pages in the two volumes. Moreover, it soon appeared that such a division into stylistic groups would be to no purpose unless it could be conclusively shown that they all came from the same original manuscript.

As to the nature of this manuscript, the study of the subjects of the miniatures soon yielded some interesting information. The observation of representations of Carmelite friars (See Pls. I and III), recognizable by their dark greyish-brown gowns with the scapular and their white mantles, in miniatures by four of the five possible artists led to the conclusion that their presence was not merely accidental, or the result of some individual artist's whim, but that the Missal might have been made for a Carmelite house — a theory which apparently would conflict with the supposition that the original manuscript had belonged to Richard II. However, a closer examination of the conjectural portrait of this king revealed the fact that he was wearing a halo and therefore could not be intended to represent Richard. Of the possible identifications of the king, one of the most likely, since the Missal appeared to be English, was Edmund of East Anglia, universally honored among English saints; but he had already been recognized in another miniature in which he is represented unmistakably in the scene of his martyrdom. Edward the Confessor was another possibility, but the king in the Missal fragment was not holding the ring, as in most representations of the Confessor.¹ A more likely identification was suggested by the Carmelite connections of the Missal: St Louis, dear to the Carmelite Order as the founder

See J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1911), p. 233, Pl. xxiv; Millar, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–32, Pls. 79–81; Brit. Mus., *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts* (3d ed.; London, 1923), I, Pl. 16; Brit. Mus., *Schools of Illumination* (London, 1922), Part IV, Pl. 3. A good colored reproduction of the initial containing Edmund the Archbishop teaching is found in E. S. Prior, *Cathedral Builders in England* (London, 1905), opp. p. 78. One of the finest of the miniatures, the Purification of the Virgin, has also been reproduced in color and is for sale at the British Museum. Recently another miniature, St Giles, has been added to the series of uncolored postcards on sale at the Museum.

¹ For example, in the Wilton Diptych in the National Gallery, London. The ring refers to the story of the Confessor and the Pilgrim, illustrated in both sculpture and floor tiles at Westminster Abbey.

of their Paris convent, was introduced into the Carmelite rite at the General Chapter in 1306.¹ Later study of Carmelite liturgical books revealed the fact that this feast commonly appears in the Calendar; moreover, when the fragment representing the king was removed from the scrapbook, the text on the back was found to confirm the identification as St Louis.

Further evidence for the Carmelite rite in the Missal was provided by the only considerable fragment of visible text, a table of cues for a series of general prayers, which was found to correspond almost word for word with a similar table in a fourteenth century manuscript of a Carmelite ordinal.² A search for other English Carmelite service books to be used as liturgical sources proved that they are extremely rare, and not one single complete copy of a fourteenth century English Carmelite missal could be found. This fact, needless to say, greatly increased the importance of further investigation of this unknown and unique exemplar, represented by the cuttings in the scrapbooks.

But before any real progress could be made with this liturgical study, it was essential that the fragments of text on the backs of the cuttings should be examined. Since permission to do this, however, could not be obtained at this time from the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum, there was nothing to be done for the moment but continue studying the cuttings in the scrapbooks; and these, in fact, kept on yielding miscellaneous items of varying interest.

First, the arrangement of some initial letters on one page (29704, f. 139: Pl. iv) to spell two proper names, 'Philip' and 'Mai' (*sic*), together with combinations of letters such as 'A. H.', 'C. H.', and others, suggested that they might be sets of initials of persons' names. 'Philip A. H.' (fragments 630–637 on this page) was certainly Philip Augustus Hanrott, either the former owner of the scrapbooks, or his young son named after him; 'C. H.' could be Caroline Hanrott, wife of Philip Augustus; 'M. M. H.' (the first *M* is really an *E* turned up on its side to represent an *M*) could be Mary Magdalen Hanrott, the only living sister of Philip Augustus; 'I. S. C.' (the first letter really a paragraph mark used as an *I*) may have been Isaac [?] Cory, a cousin; and 'Mai' (the name presumably would have been spelled 'May' if there had been a *y* in this kind of initial letter, which there was not) was certainly young Mary, second daughter of Philip Augustus, always known (according to family tradition) by this nickname.³ The contents of this page, therefore, represented something in the nature of a series of family

¹ Fr. Benedict Zimmerman, *Monumenta historica Carmelitana* (Paris, 1907), p. 227, as cited in 'Tableau chronologique des Fêtes Carmelitaines,' Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les breviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1934), I, cxi.

² Compiled by Sibert de Beka ca 1312; manuscript copy of ca 1320 in Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 193. Printed and edited with an introduction by Fr. Benedict Zimmerman as *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel* ('Bibliothèque Liturgique' [Ulysse Chevalier, Paris, 1910], XIII).

³ Most of this information about the Hanrott family was very kindly furnished by a great-grandson of the younger Philip Augustus, Mr Eric Hanrott, who became much interested in the history of the scrapbooks. Although his search of the few surviving family papers failed to yield any information about the British Museum volumes, an unforeseen result of his interest was the finding of another scrapbook in the family, which was subsequently acquired by the Museum (see below).

autographs; similar pages with somewhat less varied 'signatures' were found in the same volume (29704), folios 140 and 155; in 29705, folios 13, 48, and 172. On these latter pages the initials which appeared most often were the *P*'s, *A*'s, and *H*'s. Folio 140 (29704) showed a large, fine, decorative initial *P* in the center of a semicircle of small, gold *M*'s.

In spite of Sir William Tite's statement that Mr Hanrott had arranged the cuttings in the scrapbooks himself, it is difficult to imagine him, a highly respected, middle-aged, wealthy lawyer and a book collector,¹ engaged in such childish 'busy work.' The suggestion made by Mr Eric Hanrott seems more acceptable, namely, that it was May's idea to make this series of family initials, headed either by her father's name or (as is more likely) by that of her young brother, Philip. The large *P* mentioned above, then, may stand for this beloved brother's name and the *M*'s for herself: May's lifelong devotion to her brother is recorded in family tradition. The other *P*'s, *A*'s, and *H*'s may stand for either the father or the brother or both.

But to establish beyond a doubt the identity of the person who actually did the cutting and arranging of the fragments is really to no purpose; the elder Philip, if not guilty in fact, must in any case have given his consent. In extenuation of his act it may be argued that the original manuscript was not complete;² that it was possibly without a binding and, in consequence, some of the pages were torn and the contents damaged;³ that it certainly was of tremendous size and therefore would be most awkward for a private owner to house and difficult for him to dispose of in a sale: with the best of the decoration preserved in a form so much more convenient it would, in his opinion, gain rather than lose by being made into scrapbooks. And, in fact, it may be owing to the cutting up of the original manuscript that anything at all remains of it; most of the fragments that were saved are at least in almost perfect condition.

The period during which the scrapbooks were made was apparently between 1826 (the date watermarked on the mounting paper used in both volumes) and 1833, the year of the sale. The date 1827 is in the watermark of the flyleaves of both books, which may have been made up as blank books for this special purpose shortly before the sale. That they were not in Mr Hanrott's possession long after they were completed is suggested by the absence of any inscriptions in them, such as it was his custom to put into his books.⁴

Before leaving the subject of the Hanrott family and their scrapbooks, three more volumes formerly belonging to them must be mentioned. One was included in the same part of the same sale (Lot 1764) as the two volumes now in the British Museum, and was described in the catalogue as follows: 'Illuminated

¹ For the few facts known about Philip Augustus Hanrott as a book collector, see Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 100 f.

² The whole first part of the *Temporale* was evidently lacking, as no one of the cuttings was proved to come from this portion.

³ If the manuscript were in loose quires, unbound, it might be thought of as comprising more than one service book. At some time when the Missal was bound, the pages were ruthlessly trimmed, some fragments of decoration showing that even a considerable portion of the decoration had been cut off.

⁴ De Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

capital letters and ornaments from ancient Mss, mounted and bound in a volume, morocco, with morocco lining richly tooled, contained in a morocco case.' This volume was bought by J. Bohn for £5. Since this scrapbook cannot be traced, there is no way of knowing whether it contained cuttings from the same source as the British Museum books, though it seems likely that it did.

In the case of a second lost scrapbook, there is little doubt that the contents actually did come from the Carmelite Missal. This book was sold in 1857 with the remainder of Mr Hanrott's library which was disposed of after his death. It was described in the Sales Catalogue as follows:¹

Alphabets and letters illuminated and painted in gold and different colours on vellum with curious small miniature figures and devices in many of them cut from an early Missal and neatly arranged on blank paper splendidly bound in brown morocco, super extra, gilt edges with morocco linings and fly leaves tooled in the Grolier style in a morocco case.

The description of the type of binding sounds very similar to that found at present on the two British Museum scrapbooks; and the 'curious small miniatures' suggest the small, pen-drawn initials with scenes and heads and ornament found in great numbers in these volumes.

There is, however, even better evidence than this that the fragments in the scrapbook sold in 1857 were from the same original manuscript as those in the British Museum. In the last plate of Henry Shaw's book, *Alphabets, Numerals and Devices of the Middle Ages*, published in 1845, is an alphabet of engraved ornamental initial letters labeled as having been copied 'from a M.S. in the possession of Philip Hanrott Esq^{re}' (Pl. v, b). The forms of these initial letters and also their designs (allowing for some liberties taken by the engraver) correspond so closely to those of the smallest fragments in the British Museum scrapbooks (Pl. v, a) that there can be no doubt that the originals of the engravings came from the same manuscript.

In view of the fact that this last mentioned scrapbook of Mr Hanrott's probably contained some of the choicest of the small initials (*cf.* Sales Catalogue description quoted above) it is a thousand pities that it cannot be found. It evidently was kept by Mr Hanrott as his own personal treasure; it may even have contained some note about the origin of the cuttings, since it had been in his possession nearly twenty-five years and since, as already remarked, he was in the habit of writing in his books. All that is actually known of the later history of this scrapbook, however, does not help in tracing it: it was bought at the sale by 'Knight' for £4.16s.

It might have been expected that the cuttings saved from this magnificent Missal would have filled no more than these four scrapbook volumes. The appearance of a fifth volume, therefore, in September, 1936, brought into the Museum by two ladies of the Hanrott family, was a great surprise. One glance at the fragments in this new album was sufficient to identify them as further remains of the same manuscript from which the cuttings in at least three of the

¹ S. C. 28 Jan., 1857, Lot. 14.



PLATE I

Initial C[ibavit] introducing the Introit of the Mass for Corpus Christi Day. *Above*, the Last Supper. *Below*, the Elevation of the Host during the Celebration of Mass. Carmelite Friars, represented both inside the initial letter and outside in the framework. [Slightly reduced.]

San Toti duple ofc



PLATE II

Initial G[audeamus] introducing the Introit of the Mass for the Nativity of the Virgin. The heading (completed) reads: [. . . Ad mis[sam Totum duplex offici[um]. [Reduced.]

other four known Hanrott scrapbooks had come. Moreover, inside the front cover was the name, 'Ellen A. Hanrott,' spelled with the same kind of initial letters (gold, on blue and fawn ground) as were used for the names and initials in the British Museum books. Ellen Hanrott was the youngest daughter of Philip Augustus, between May and Philip. From the more mutilated condition of many of the fragments in Ellen's book, it would appear that she got the leavings of the cut-up pages, after what was wanted for the larger books had been chosen. It is probable that the British Museum volumes and Ellen's album were all made at the same time, since the same pink-tinted paper is used for mounting in all three. Ellen's scrapbook was also acquired by the British Museum, and numbered *Additional 44892*.

Long before the acquisition of this third scrapbook by the Museum, the persistent study of the two *Additional* manuscripts had suggested to me the idea that portions, at least, of the original Missal might be reconstructed by joining together certain of the fragments which, from their size and shape as well as from the style of their illuminations evidently had originally belonged together. By measuring the edges of such pieces it could be established in some cases that they would join perfectly if juxtaposed. From the sum of the measurements of certain of the border fragments which fitted together in this way, the dimensions of the original manuscript page could be calculated as *ca* 63 cm. long and 42 cm. wide. The text was written in two columns 13 cm. wide and *ca* 51 cm. long; the number of text lines to a column varied between 27 and 29. With these very impressive dimensions fixed and with some fragments of the rich and beautiful borders rejoined to the initials, some conception of the magnificence of the original Missal began to appear. On the basis of correspondence of style between the borders and initials that joined, moreover, other cuttings which seemed to belong together, but had been trimmed so that they would no longer exactly fit, could be reunited. This process was very helpful in sorting out the various styles in the fragments not otherwise identified.

Reconstructing the manuscript in imagination, however, was like trying to solve a jigsaw puzzle with the pieces scattered about in different places, and immovable: by the time I had found one fragment which seemed to belong with another, I had forgotten on which page the first fragment was; and if by good luck I had my finger on both pieces at once, I must spend many minutes turning backward and forward from one to another, measuring, comparing, and trying to decide whether or not they really did belong together. When at long last this point had been settled, there was nothing to be done about it except to make a note. The collection of such notes gradually grew until their number made it evident even to the most skeptical onlooker that there really was something in the idea of a possible reconstruction of the original manuscript — an idea which, apparently, had never been entertained seriously by anyone who had seen the cuttings previous to this time.

But not even this idea, convincing as it seemed to me, elicited permission to test its practicability with regard to the actual fragments. The British Museum authorities still did not think the cuttings ought to be removed from the scrap-

books; hence the only way to proceed further with the idea was to have as many of them as possible photographed and to work out a partial reconstruction, using the photographs in lieu of the original fragments.

The success of this photographic reconstruction of some of the more striking pages of decoration confirmed my belief in the possibilities of fitting together a great many more of the cuttings, and it was, I confess, with some feeling of triumph that I finally showed the large sheets of paper on which the photographs were joined and mounted to members of the Department of Manuscripts. Their enthusiastic approval led to their proposal that a similar set should be made for the Museum. The obvious answer to that suggestion was, 'Why not reconstruct the manuscript itself instead of photographs of it?' There seemed, indeed, no valid objection, now that the possibilities of the idea had been concretely demonstrated. Within an hour plans were under discussion for removing the cuttings from the scrapbooks as rapidly as places should be found for them in the potential Carmelite Missal.

The method by which these fragments, some 1500 in all, have been pieced together to compose the essential portions of 210 leaves of this enormous and magnificently written and illuminated Missal has been evolved on the basis of a succession of adaptations to the various kinds of material to be identified and placed. This evolution in its different stages forms in itself an interesting phase of the reconstruction project and will be dealt with in detail in a proposed monograph on the reconstructed Missal. Briefly, it comprised two separate yet closely related processes: (1) the formulation, on the basis of data furnished by the subjects of certain miniatures and by the fragmentary text on the backs of these cuttings, of a body of criteria, cumulative and subject to constant revision; (2) the application of these criteria to unidentified fragments.

From the data furnished by the miniatures and the text fragments on the backs, the following facts about the manuscript appeared: (a) the initial invariably introduced either the Introit or the Collect of the mass for the festival illustrated by the miniature; (b) the miniatures, when arranged in chronological order according to the liturgical calendar, formed a partial skeleton for the Carmelite Missal; (c) the text on the backs of the fragments could be identified in any complete missal as coming either from a later part of the same mass or from one that precedes in calendar order; (d) any given text fragment from a later part of the same mass must be on the verso of the leaf, on the recto of which was the miniature, and one or three columns of text, would intervene between the picture (at the beginning of the mass) and the text; (e) if the text fragment was from an earlier mass, it must be on the recto and the miniature initial on the verso, and only one or three columns of text would intervene between the two; (f) from text fragments identified and completed, the line length could be determined, and therefore, since the number of lines in a column had already been established in determining the page measurements, the amount of text contained in a column in the Missal could be calculated almost to a word; (g) the miniatures when arranged in their proper missal order showed clearly a systematic distribution of the different styles, and also a gradual alteration in the handwriting and in the color

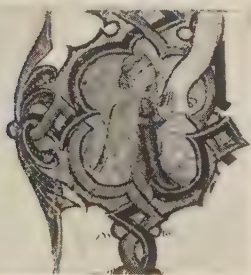


PLATE III

Initial C[onfessio] introducing the Introit of the Mass for St. Lawrence, and containing scenes from his life. In the lower medallion, a kneeling Carmelite. [Reduced.]

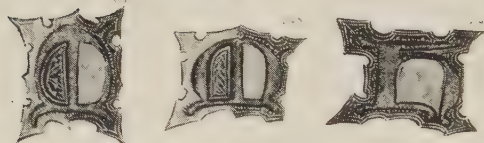
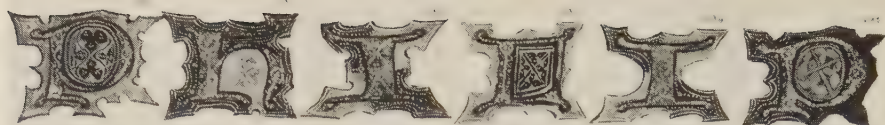


PLATE IV

A page from the scrapbook *B.M. Ms. Additional 29704*, containing small blue, tan, and gold letters arranged to form names and initials of the Hanrott family. [Reduced.]

of the ink during the course of writing the text. Some or all of these conclusions formed the basis for identifying and placing the hundreds of fragments bearing no evidence whatsoever as to their source or their position in the new Missal.

By the time most of the larger initials which contained a considerable amount of text on the backs had been placed, the body of criteria appeared sufficiently well-established to warrant attempting to include in the reconstruction some 600 smaller decorative initials, on the backs of which were found fragments of only two lines of text. Among these, the variations in style were of the greatest value in forming groups. The distribution of these stylistic groups was made on the basis of certain individual fragments in each, which contained some textual evidence, as names, of the masses to which they belonged. With these groups of smaller initials thus tentatively assigned on stylistic and textual grounds to certain parts of the Missal, unidentified text fragments on the backs of initials in the various styles could be more quickly found because sought for only in certain limited portions of any complete missal.

In regard to the choice of a missal text to be used as a criterion, however, difficulty arose at the outset from the fact that there was no complete English Carmelite Missal. Since massbooks of other rites differ in many of the feasts celebrated, the required text passage could often be found only after a long search in many different missals. Nevertheless, gradually the number of identified fragments increased, and the number of text fragments to be looked for diminished; and the possibility of identifying and placing this whole series of smaller initials began to be increasingly apparent. Ultimately, in fact, all except about half a dozen could be included in the reconstruction. The result of adding this large number of small fragments is two-fold: they serve to indicate most of the liturgical content of the Carmelite masses by furnishing the initial letters of Collects, Epistles, Gospels, Secrets, and Postcommunions; and they supply some very interesting and valuable textual detail.

Only a comparatively few of the smallest size initials (less than one square inch in area, as in Plate Va) were able to be placed, notably two series: (1) initials with pen drawings illustrating scenes from the Easter story, the initials introducing verses of the Easter gospel; and (2) initials containing pictures representing the Beatitudes, the initials introducing verses of the Gospel for All Saints' Day. In both series, the fragments of text on the backs of these tiny initials, small as they are, have been identified, and in some cases, incredibly enough, have supplied important textual evidence for the Carmelite liturgy.

The text of the Missal as now reconstructed comprises the second half of the *Temporale* (containing the masses from Holy Saturday to Advent) and the whole of both the *Sanctorale* and the *Commune Sanctorum* except the final gathering, which, apparently, was lost before the manuscript was cut up. The presence of masses for a number of important English and Carmelite saints shows conclusively that the Missal was of this use and rite.¹ Certain exclusively London feasts,

¹ A complete description of the evidence for determining the textual contents of the reconstructed manuscript, together with a discussion of particular points of liturgical interest will be included in the forthcoming monograph on the Missal.

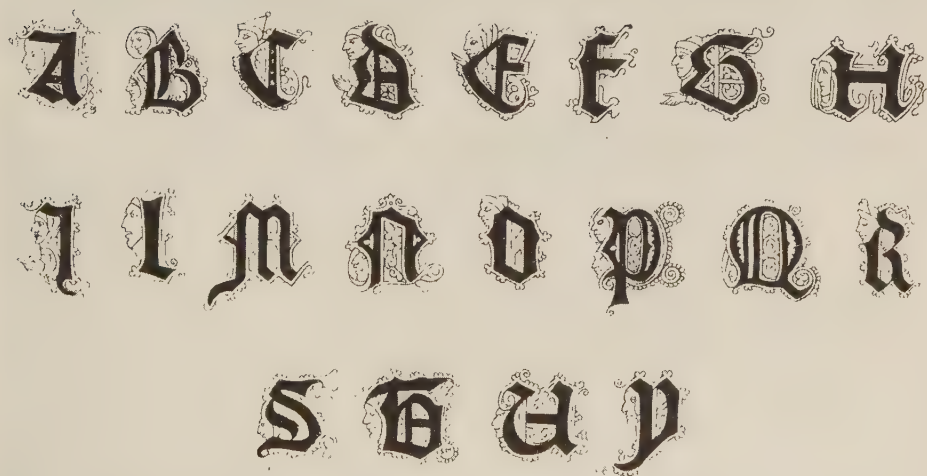
notably St Erkenwald, have been tentatively but not yet conclusively identified among the text fragments; there seems, however, to be sufficient evidence for thinking the Missal was made for Whitefriars, the Carmelite House in London. One important Carmelite feast, that of the Solemn Commemoration of the Virgin (July 16) introduced into the rite of the Order between 1376 and 1387 is present, in full, even though written in half-size letters and crowded into a space too small for it, as though it had not been planned for in the original lay-out of the Missal. Three other feasts known to have been introduced into the Carmelite rite in 1391 (the Visitation, the Presentation of the Virgin, and the Virgin of the Snows) are not found in the reconstructed Missal. On the grounds of this evidence the writing of the text may be dated between 1376 and 1391. The illumination of the manuscript may have been begun before the text was completely written; in any case it can almost certainly be dated about 1390 or shortly after.

The segregation of the traditional English style from the new and foreign one as found in the reconstructed Missal is only the first step in the solution of one of the most puzzling problems in the study of English illumination. It is necessary, further, to trace in Continental sources the origin of this foreign style in order to understand the sudden development of the fine new style about 1400. From research thus far completed, indications are that the Low Countries, more specifically Gelder, may have furnished the masterly artist who collaborated with English illuminators on the Missal.

Pending the solution of this problem of stylistic origins, however, important results of reconstructing this manuscript are to be noted. The most obvious of these is the improvement in the actual appearance of the reconstructed pages as compared with the scrapbook pages. Fragmentary as all the pages still are, those which have the most fragments fitted into their proper textual and decorative places, give an impression of the magnificence in scheme and of the exquisite beauty in detail which could not even be imagined when the cuttings were merely jumbled together in the scrapbooks. Whereas previously the Museum possessed two volumes of these scraps (to which was added the third as the direct result of the interest centered in the reconstruction of the Missal), now it possesses a fragmentary copy of a unique Missal text, closely dated and localized, and illuminated in a manner which has not been surpassed in any other manuscript of the period, English or Continental.

Apart from the concrete results of the reconstruction of this particular Missal, there is an interesting possibility, of more far-reaching importance, that such methods as were evolved during this project might be applied to other scrapbook collections of cuttings, thus restoring at least partially still other fine manuscripts as yet unknown.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.



From a M. S. in the possession of Philip Harcourt Esq.^r

PLATE V

- a. Small Pen-drawn Initials from Scrapbook in British Museum. [Actual size.]
- b. Engraved Plate from Shaw's *Alphabets, Numerals and Devices*.

